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POLITICS

Is the Russian Revolution a Bourgeois Revolution?

by Karl Radek.

We request all editors to reprint the following article in full, although it is somewhat long. It gives a most appropriate answer to the latest Menshevik campaign against the proletarian revolution, which the Mensheviks are trying to discredit by calling it a bourgeois revolution.

The Editor.

In 1905-1906, after the first Russian Revolution, the question as to the social character and the part to be played by the next Russian Revolution was of great importance in the process of self-determination of the labor movement. The questions asked were: "Will it be a bourgeois or a proletarian revolution? Which class will lead it if it is to be a bourgeois revolution? What will be the relations of this class to the other classes?"

Even the first revolution had settled many disputes in spite of the fact that it had not reached its goal. Although it was suppressed before it could decide upon vital questions, the questions of power, it became absolutely clear that the bourgeoisie was a counter-revolutionary class which sought to enter into an agreement with the old Czarist regime for the perpetuation of the condition of half serfdom in order to subdue the proletariat. Two classes proved to be revolutionary, the workers and the peasants. The workers were the leaders, the main driving force of the revolution.

During the decade between the first revolution and that of 1917, the disputes over the character of the revolution gave place to definite questions dealing with the conditions for organizing the working-class after the revolution, the question of social changes as a result of the first revolution, and particularly the question dealing with the changes within the working-class and with Stolypin's agrarian policy. The March and October revolutions, four years of Soviet rule and finally our new economic policy have restored the question of the character of our revolution to the order of the day. The Mensheviks and their international friends, the Social Democrats and Centrists, are madly howling over the new economic policy of the Soviet government, and are putting the following question to us: "Why was all that necessary? Does not the fact that you Bolsheviks are compelled to restore the very capitalism you have destroyed, prove that it was a bourgeois revolution?"

It is necessary to answer this question if we ourselves wish to grasp the meaning of this four years' fight, and the significance of our new policy. Are we actually renouncing the past four years? Is the Russian Revolution a proletarian one or is it a bourgeois revolution?

First of all, we must establish certain facts. We designate all the revolutions from the Dutch uprising against Spanish tyranny up to the English and French revolutions, or more strictly speaking up to the three French revolutions, as bourgeois revolutions, because their result was bourgeois rule, which meant a step towards its universal triumph, and to the bourgeoisie's

acquisition of power in all civilized countries. But none of these revolutions was purely bourgeois; we must take into consideration the classes that participated in them and the goals aimed at by these classes. The large landowning class played a considerable part in the Netherlands and even in the English revolution. Cromwell himself was a large landowner; he was backed by a considerable part of the big English landowners. At the same time, beginning with the English revolution we see that not only did the craftsman, the industrial worker and the young proletarian class which was just coming into existence, participate in the revolutions, but we even notice a strong tendency to exceed the bounds set by the growing capitalist system. The movements of Levellers, Diggers and Chiliastens were proletarian democratic movements which strove towards instituting the Socialist order and that of collective ownership; they sought the abolition of private property and capitalist competition. Considerable masses participated in these movements. To them Socialism was a religion. Even at that time Socialism represented a danger to the young capitalist order, and the bourgeoisie suppressed it with all the cruelty of which it is capable in defending its interests. Cromwell well understood the conflict between capitalism and this religious Socialism. In his speeches he fought against the latter with the same argument: which the bourgeoisie used against revolutionary Socialism in the 19th century.

During the French revolution and parallel with its development, the Socialist current gained strength in the depths of society; it was then represented by the party of the "Enragés", whose history has not yet been written, but which played a very important part in the events of 1793 (the literature on this party is very poor). Robespierre was an avowed and convinced opponent of this movement. In the pamphlets of the Girondist, Brissot, the representative of the commercial bourgeoisie of Southern France, we find not only all the arguments with which the bourgeoisie later fought Socialism, but we also find the mad, raging hatred which is due to the recognition of the power of the Communists in the French revolution. These were backed by a considerable part of those who saved France in 1793.

One of the reasons why the petty-bourgeois democrat Robespierre was overthrown, was that he had lost the working masses of Paris through his campaign against the "Enragés" and their defenders in the Paris Commune, like Chaumette. For the heads of Chaumette and Leroux, Robespierre paid with his own head. After he had lost connection with the working masses he could no longer instil fear into, nor be of any use to the Thermidorists of the young bourgeoisie of the French Revolution, which was gaining ground in the war against the feudal world. When the head of Robespierre fell amid joyous cheers of the speculators and the "Jeunesse dorée", the suburbs of Paris were maliciously ailing.

In the revolution of 1789, and still more in the Revolution of 1848, the working-class of France together with the artisans who joined it, was already a growing and threatening power which clearly understood the conflict of proletarian and capitalist interests. These masses who were not yet united by industries on a large scale and who did not yet have a party which could unite them by an idea, these masses who fought with a confused idea of the Socialist Republic, were already the driving power and the leaders of the revolution. The defeat of these masses in June was the defeat of the revolution. The bourgeoisie did not develop the revolution after their victory; it was rather the workers who did it. The bourgeoisie ended it and flocked to the standards of Napoleon III.

What is the significance of this historical reminiscence?

The existence of the bourgeoisie is a necessary condition for a bourgeois revolution. In all bourgeois revolutions however, the working-class stepped into the historical arena together with the bourgeoisie, for there is no bourgeoisie without a working class. At first the working-class moved under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Then, in the process of revolution it became conscious of the clash of interests between itself and the bourgeoisie. It therefore attempted to exceed the bounds of the French revolution, the aims which the latter set in the fight for the working-class and in the struggle for vaguely formulated Socialist principles.

In 1896, Eduard Bernstein who at that time was still considered a revolutionary Marxist, pointed out in his preface to Heritier's history of the French Revolution of 1848, that, due to the bourgeois character of the revolution, the working-class should not have put any demands which exceeded the bounds of the bourgeois order. This he considered the great error committed by the working-class. But the workers did not reduce their demands in the bourgeois revolutions. They understand Bernstein well. What Bernstein told them the representatives of the bourgeoisie and of petty bourgeois socialism are always telling them. The workers could not withdraw their demands because they had come out of cellars and dogs' kennels and dirty workshops. They were suffering and consequently could not calmly look on while the bourgeoisie was reaping the harvest. They had to fight for their own interests and pursue their own aims, because they felt that it was they who had overthrown the old order, and that the bourgeoisie only wanted to modify their slavery. They had to go still further for, without doing so, they would have been unable to defeat the old order. They succeeded in doing so only because they had exceeded the limits of bourgeois interests. Friedrich Engels was right when he spoke of the historical law, according to which the revolutionary class puts demands to the leaders of a revolution which by far exceed the apparent possibilities of the particular moment, thus making the overthrow of the old order possible. Rosa Luxemburg was also right in her statement that in all bourgeois revolutions it was the proletarian, communist efforts of the workers that constituted the power which made the overthrow of feudalism possible.

This recognition of the historical tendencies in every bourgeois revolution is a necessary condition for the theoretical comprehension of the fate of the Russian Revolution.

In 1905, when disputes over the character of the Russian Revolution were still going on, Trotsky rightly pointed out that whether we wanted it or not, the working class would exceed the bourgeois limits of the revolution, because it would have to seize power, even though it might do so together with the peasantry, in order to end the bourgeois revolution and in order to overthrow the Czarist regime, and that in order to reach a practical solution in the questions of unemployment and lockouts, it would have to base and answer these questions upon its own interests, that is, upon Socialism. At that time Karl Kautsky who now speaks like a Menshevik, agreed with Rosa Luxemburg that the Russian Revolution was at the same time a bourgeois and non-bourgeois or proletarian revolution, because, although it established the capitalist order on the land by leaving the land in the hands of the peasants, it must seek to establish Socialism in the cities. At that time Kautsky said that according to its position in history the Russian Revolution was the transition from the bourgeoisie to the proletarian revolution.

If the influence of the Russian Revolution was to let loose the revolutionary forces in Europe (and in Western Europe only a proletarian revolution is possible) the Russian Revolution would be compelled to realize Socialism in its own peculiar way.

Ten years after Kautsky had made these observations upon the driving forces of the revolution, the March revolution took place. The leaders of the proletarian vanguard, the Bolsheviks, were well aware of the petty bourgeois character of the Russian industries, and they therefore consciously attempted to limit the aims for which the proletariat fought, by placing upon the order of the day not Socialism, but the transition measures towards Socialism. Lenin's program in April 1917 had for its aim the bringing of the government machine into the hands of the workers and the peasants' Soviets, and the nationalization of banks without doing away with private property. Even after the workers and peasants had seized power the Soviet government made no attempt to expropriate the bourgeoisie, but rather to develop and organize the workers' control of industry. The working-class, however, proceeded with dynamic force. It seized the factories and nationalized enterprises in the provinces against the will of the central government. This it did, not out of ignorance of the program of the Bolshevik Party, but because of the resistance of the bourgeoisie which attempted to sabotage the

workers' control or to hide the supplies necessary for running the industries. The workers had to get hold of the bourgeoisie by the neck. Even if there had been no economic necessity for this move, the class which had overthrown the bourgeoisie and had seized power would not have permitted the bourgeoisie to enjoy the possession of the means of production undisturbed. The proletariat ruled in the country and could not possibly have permitted the bourgeoisie to rule on the economic field and live accordingly. (To be concluded.)

The Four-Power Treaty in Washington.

by Arthur Rosenberg.

According to the reports of the bourgeois press, everything is again in order in Washington. The differences between America and Japan over the domination of the Pacific Ocean have been forgotten. The Anglo-American economic antagonisms have been buried and France no longer airs its injuries. The imperialistic antagonisms have been liquidated in the new Four Power Alliance. The broth brewed in the Washington witches' caldron tastes, however, rather thin and common and it will scarcely revive capitalism, groaning under its burdens.

What actually happened in Washington? Of course, the new Four-Power Alliance—England-America-Japan-France—has nothing in common with the old European Triple Entente. None of the actual differences between America and Japan and between England and France have been cleared away. Instead of that, the Four-Power idea is supposed to establish a sort of armistice between the capitalist powers struggling for supremacy, a certain balance of power of so fluctuating a nature, however, that the first strong storm will overturn it like a house of cards. The Washington Conference has been struggling for one month with two great problems—the future of China and the limitation of armaments. Before and during the conference it was continually emphasized that everything depends on China. An agreement among the interested powers with regard to the Far East had to be attained, the point of controversy had to be settled before disarmament could be seriously discussed. Mr. Hughes had attempted to put the cart before the horse. He began the conference with a *coup de theatre* the American disarmament proposal. The American Secretary of State caused a great sensation with his proposition that the three great sea-powers adopt the 5:5:3 fleet formula; but all this did not bring the conference any nearer to a solution of the Chinese problem.

A few days ago, a session was held of the sub-committee charged with the consideration of the Chinese question. A very interesting official communiqué of the proceedings has been issued. According to the communiqué the following took place.

On the order of business was the decision as to what should be done with the various regions which the Powers had "leased" from China. "Lease" was the euphonious expression for "rob". When, during the last few decades, the English, the Japanese or anybody else annexed a portion of China, it was always solemnly stated that the region in question was only leased for a term of 99 years. The chief of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Wellington Koo, demanded that the Great Powers should return these "leaseholds" to their rightful owner. Mr. Balfour answered in the name of the English delegation. He declared that England had leased two regions in China: firstly, Wei-hai-wei, which England is gladly prepared to return to China (since it is of little value); and secondly, Kaulun. England can, unfortunately, not relinquish Kaulun, since it is indispensable for the strategic protection of the English commercial harbor, Hongkong. The conference would, he trusted, realize that the strategic protection of Hongkong is not merely of interest to England, but also to the world.

Then followed the Japanese, Mr. Hanihara. "Japan is interested in two regions in China, which it has obtained on lease. One is Kiaou-Chow and Shantung, in which Japan is Germany's successor. However, Japan has come to terms with China over Shantung; nothing need be said here concerning that. The second region that Japan has under lease is the Port Arthur district; but Japan obtained it from the Russians at the cost of so much blood and money that it really is unable to consider its return."

This is the present situation of the Chinese question at Washington. No one is prepared to yield up anything which is dear to him. In the session of the China sub-committee the Japanese spoke only of Kiaou-Chow and Port Arthur. He could also have spoken of Hankow, the city in Southern China with a Japanese garrison, which is not "leased" to Japan. He should have mentioned Tientsin, in which Japanese troops are also quartered, all the so-called Treaty Ports, which have a Japanese

police force, "and many other things". Japan remained silent, and when it did speak, it refused to make any concessions.

With the China problem in such a pass, any talk of disarmament is pure bluff. As far as the disarmament program is concerned, Japan is to relinquish the modern super-dreadnought, "Mutsu", according to the original American plan. After a long period of anxious expectation, Tokyo's reply on Japan's stand with regard to the fleet reduction has arrived. It is to the effect that of course Japan desires to disarm but requires as payment for its complaisance the retaining of the "Mutsu". As a matter of course, this suggestion puts several holes in the celebrated 5:5:3 formula. But in Washington, they are satisfied to have secured Japan's acceptance, at least to that degree. And as for the submarines, one no longer even mentions them, for not only America and Japan, but also France has determined views of its own in that matter.

In this chaos what is the purpose of the Four-Power Alliance? The fundamental idea of the Four-Power Treaty is as follows:

The signatory powers guarantee to each other the continued possession of their islands in the Pacific Ocean, i. e., in the first place, America will no longer dispute Japan's right of ownership of the strategically very important Caroline and Marianne groups. If, however, differences arise between any of the four powers, the others are duty-bound to undertake the mediation of the dispute. According to that, in an eventual American-Japanese conflict, England's and France's arbitration would automatically come into play. If the plan is actually carried through, it means a considerable victory for British diplomacy. England can no longer maintain its alliance with Japan. Furthermore, England desires to postpone open war between America and Japan for as long as possible, for the victor in an American-Japanese duel would be so powerful that it would be able without serious effort to destroy Britain as well. Therefore England wants only to half separate from Japan. It wants to be the index-finger in the balance between American and Japanese capital. If the Four-Power Treaty is ratified by the governments in question, it means that, at the present moment, neither America nor Japan desires war, but is prepared to accept England's arbitration in their differences. But, and it must be continually emphasized, the Four-Power Agreement is in itself completely meaningless as an armistice as long as the signatory powers are not agreed at least in principle over the China Question.

This role of mediator means for England a difficult but important task. In order to be able to perform this work, upon which at the present depends the existence of the British Empire, England desires to have France as its second. France's duty in the Four-Power Alliance is to hinder, together with England, the American-Japanese war and thus to conserve the present world balance of power as long as possible. It is apparent that England, to-day more than ever, requires the support of the French bourgeoisie. A short while ago, the London "Times" suggested to the French that they should not believe in the fiction of their isolation. It is precisely the Washington Conference which will weld the English and the French together closer than ever. The "Times" knows very well why it wrote that article. And in Germany it will soon be noticed how much England depends upon France.

What is the Washington Four-Power Alliance? It is no salvation for world-capital, merely at best a shaky foot-bridge, designed to lead over the marsh of the present world crisis, but which will soon break under the weight of its builders and precipitate them into the swamp below.

The Present Situation in England

by Thomas Bell (London).

The folly and political bankruptcy of the politicians who framed the Versailles Peace Treaty is coming home to the British proletariat with a vengeance. The specious pleas of a year ago, urged by the bourgeois politicians and their labor lieutenants alike, that the remedy for the economic ruin brought upon the peoples by the capitalist imperialists lay in more and more production, increased output and cheapness, have been put to the test. Output, in the absence of artificial restriction, as for example in the cotton industry, has been well maintained. Every grade of worker without exception has suffered a severe cut in wages. There has even been a general cut in prices, especially in wholesale business. But that prosperity which was promised the masses of the toilers is as far away as ever.

Try as the ruling class may it cannot break through the vicious circle of its own creation in which it moves. Respectable

bourgeois journals confess that there are more millions of men, women and children bitterly suffering in England to-day from unemployment than in France from the consequences of the invasion. The root of all this trouble is the complete failure of capitalism to provide for the elementary economic needs of the working-class. Indeed, that is the predisposing cause of the world's economic chaos. The situation in England, however, is aggravated by the infamous exactions from Germany in the shape of indemnities. And little wonder! You cannot hand over to a shipbuilding country like England thousands of tons of shipping without producing a slump. It would be foolish to suggest that the clever British bourgeoisie did not anticipate that. The intense greed and passion for gain, however, could not be resisted. Result, shipbuilding on the Clyde, Tyne-side and the Wear is at a complete standstill with the consequent starvation and destitution of the millions dependent upon the industry for their livelihood. The effects on machine construction and the collateral industries are corresponding. Thus on November 4th, 14.6 per cent of the twelve millions on the Government's insured list were in receipt of unemployed relief. The funds of the trade-unions are in many cases completely exhausted. The wealthy unions are rapidly being reduced to bankruptcy by the enormous drain on their funds taking place month by month. In the coalfields the once powerful Miners' Federation is for the moment demoralised by the reaction of this year's strike and the increase in unemployment. South Wales is especially suffering, and only this week another 10,000 miners were added to the list on account of the closing down of the mines in the Rhondda and Rhymney districts. The folly of the imperialists' cry of "Make the Germans Pay!" is now self-evident to the working-class and the bourgeois publicists this week are openly discussing a moratorium. Mention of the moratorium following upon Herr Stinnes' visit to London indicated sinister forces at work in solving the problem of security for British and German capitalists alike, the difficulties in that direction are aggravated by the swashbuckling demands of the French bourgeoisie whose hopes have been based on the Wiesbaden agreement. But it is quite clear that if this agreement stands in the way of the restoration of British commercialism, then it will have to be torn up as the present policy of drift is undermining the basic fabric of capitalism in England. Unemployment has now become a veritable cancer that is gnawing at the vitals of the British bourgeoisie, and bourgeois and yellow labor alike are at their wits' ends to resist the possibility of a recurrence in London of the Vienna incidents of this week. Politically the dominant issues are Ireland and Washington. The proceedings of the latter have gone underground with a view to sorting out the differences between the Entente on the one hand, and Japan, Britain and America on the other hand. The proposal of a limitation in armaments was immediately met here by a demand from the armament ring for a subsidy or compensation for idle capital. *There was no question of compensation for the workers who would be scrapped as a consequence.* At the moment the uncertainty surrounding Washington is aggravating the economic situation particularly in the munition towns, and the jingo press are demanding the presence in Washington of the Prime Minister who is easily the cleverest illusionist the bourgeoisie has, and who can be calculated to again do the needful in glossing over an awkward situation.

The general political situation offers a glorious opportunity for the Labor Party to jump ahead, if it were not for the supineness of the leadership which cannot rise above the aspirations of commonplace Liberalism.

The young Communist Party has already come to the front by its close association with and activity among the unemployed. During the recent municipal elections, the Party contested 26 wards in twenty big towns and polled slightly over 15,000 votes and returned three candidates. The number of votes in no way reflects the actual results of the elections. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets, manifestos, etc., were circulated while enthusiastic demonstrations and ordinary political meetings were an outstanding feature of the contests wherever the Communists ran a candidate. The Party is making preparations for the general election and will give a good account of itself. A National Conference of all the Unemployed Committees in the country was recently held in Manchester. Our comrades received overwhelming votes of confidence for work done and were elected to all the official positions. The influence of the Party among the unemployed has been a knockout for the Labor politicians who invariably exploit such movements purely for municipal and parliamentary jobs. The unemployed organisations are now forcing the hands of the yellow leaders and driving them much further ahead than they are anxious to go.

The C. P. Executive has ratified the various Theses and Tactics of the Moscow Congress and preparations are on foot for a Party Policy Congress during the middle of January at which, besides the discussions of the Theses, the relations between the C. P. and the Labor Party will come under review. The potentialities for Communism in the present situation in England are good, and the Communists are ready to buckle down to the tasks before them.

Political Conditions in Jugoslavia

by S. M.

The regime of White Terror in Jugoslavia still continues. Many signs, however, point to the conclusion that it is beginning to subside. The White Terror regime subsists on three factors: the Crown, an officers' clique, and a powerful bankers' group. Complete power is wielded by the officers' clique. This is a continuation of the old Serbian tradition which accorded to various military cliques a predominating influence in the political structure of the country. The reigning group comprises the type of officer which both in a military and in an intellectual and moral sense leaves much to be desired. Its despotic rule called forth great discontent even in the officers' corps—in the midst of the military itself. The Crown whose authority was even more greatly shaken by the recent death of the rather popular assassinating, has hitherto identified itself with the officers' clique just mentioned, with whom its own fate was bound. The third factor of the White Terror regime is a powerful bank group, which is supported chiefly by two Greater Serbian parties: the Radicals and the Democrats. Essentially the two parties have the same class character: they are the parties of finance capital. The personal quarrels among the leaders of these parties are the only serious hindrance to their amalgamation. In all important questions of principle, as shown especially in the debates on the Constitution, these parties may be safely assumed to be in perfect agreement. The third party of the ruling Bloc is formed by the Bosnian Mohammedans who are to be regarded as representatives of the feudal rights of the Beys and the Agas, even though, making an appeal to religious fanaticism, they did utilize the poor and proletarian Mohammedan elements in the last elections. The fourth and last group of the ruling Bloc is formed by the small party of the rich Slovenian peasants which counts only nine seats in Parliament.

This reactionary Bloc thus composed disposes of a majority of but a few votes. And with this pitiful majority, in June 1921, it forced upon the country a reactionary and counter-revolutionary Constitution. This new Constitution places all power in the hands of the Crown. The Parliament is reduced to a voting machine. The police commissioner becomes all powerful. There is not the slightest guarantee for the most elementary civil and political right. The absolutist political centralization is the essential characteristic of the new Constitution which represents only the interests of the Serbian bourgeoisie. The Constitution sanctions the existing hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie. In this State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, nearly all Croatian and an overwhelming majority of Slovenian deputies protested most vigorously against the Constitution.

The adoption of the Constitution did not by any means exhaust the constitutional question. At the very birth, or more properly at the miscarriage of the Constitution the question of its revision was put on the order of the day. All Croatian parties formed a "Croatian Bloc" whose chief demand is constitutional revision. The Slovenian Peoples' Party (D-Koroec), the largest party of Slovenia expressed complete agreement with the chief demand of the Croatian Bloc. One of the leaders of the ruling Radical party, Stoja Protic, its intellectual head, took a decided stand against the adopted Constitution. His influence in the Radical Party is constantly growing, so that the main support of the present government is beginning to totter. The chief supporter of the White Terror policy is the leader of the so-called Democratic party, police commissioner Pribicevic who gained distinction as an unquestioning tool of Count Tisza's regime, during which he did his utmost to render the methods of his master a success. Pribicevic, as every good disciple, far outstripped his great master Tisza. He is the author of the well known anti-communist law which puts even all Horthy laws into the shadow.

The policy of White Terror, beginning with the end of last year and concluding with the anti-communist law, is approaching complete bankruptcy. The ruling Bloc suffered a series of heavy defeats all along the line. Chaos in all branches of governmental activity is the logical result of the insane

policy practised by the ruling Yugoslav bourgeoisie. The question of national unity, which was to form the basis of the National Council, is passing through a fatal crisis. Never was the antagonism between Serbs and Croats so great, so wide, and so deep as at the present, after three years of existence in the new State. The lack of clarity in the economic policy of the country is responsible for disturbances in its economic life. The hopeless financial situation is reflected in the unprecedented low rate of exchange which sank over 200 % since the passing of the anti-communist law, which was supposed to prove a panacea for all social ills. The failure of the internal loan, despite the rather favorable circumstances, revealed the general distrust of the ruling Bloc. The foreign loan to be concluded in the most unfavorable circumstances will act at best only as a camphor injection. The brutal misconduct of police authorities cause risings of workers and peasants in entire provinces. There exists no protection under the law. The population is forced to self-defense. A general discontent is felt in all strata of the working population.

The regime of White Terror is already feeling the ground shaking under its feet. Rotten from top to bottom, it is condemned to certain death. It therefore clings convulsively to the "external danger" (Albania and Hungary) in order that it may, through various war complications, further prolong its existence. But the ruling bourgeoisie is miscalculating in this as in every other respect. The last partial mobilization led to bloody conflicts in many places throughout the land, which is in no way a hopeful sign for the declaration of war.

Faced with such a situation, the ablest defender of the present social order in Jugoslavia, Stoja Protic, is attempting to salvage what is still savable. At the head of all opposition parties he takes a stand against the unrestrained dictatorship of the police ministry and demands a return to law, democracy, and parliamentarism. The people have lost all faith in law and parliamentarism. We Communists may be thankful to the regime of White Terror for this. Stoja Protic, however, justly considers this state of affairs as extremely dangerous to the continued existence of social order. Laws, the Constitution, Parliamentarism are in his opinion the bases of social order. These bases have been completely shattered. The appeal for their restoration is made to prevent the collapse of the entire social structure. Stoja Protic is opposed to the frankly savage dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: he would prefer to dress it up in a more lawful and constitutional attire. Therein lies the main difference between him and the supporters of the existing regime. Stoja Protic is also active in bringing about a reconciliation between the Serbs and Croats, because he clearly sees that this reconciliation is vitally necessary for the new State. He, consequently considers the constitutional revision as the presupposition for the cure of the sickly State organism.

Whether Stoja Protic will succeed in his aims is still problematic. There are signs, however, that prove his growing influence. The Slovenian Peoples' Party moved in Parliament that the 59 Communist votes be restored, hoping thereby to muster the two-third majority necessary for a revision of the Constitution.

Two great political parties at present stand in tense opposition. The near future must relieve the situation.

The small Social Democratic Party and the Centrist Party—still in its birth pangs—cannot be considered as independent political factors. They are mere mercenaries of the ruling White Terror regime. They counted much upon the support of the police; they miscalculated, however, once again. The Communist working masses continue to have nothing but deep contempt for the traitors to Socialism. The Communist Party of Jugoslavia showed itself to be the only proletarian party under the regime of the White Terror. Despite its terrible sacrifices, the Communist workers of Jugoslavia refused to deviate from the path of the Communist International. Despite the wretched economic conditions the C. P. J. still forms a political factor with which the ruling bourgeoisie now reckons and will have to reckon in the future.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Offensive of French Capitalism

by Paul Louis (Paris).

It is evident that at the present moment the working-class in France, like those in most countries, is on the defensive. Whether it be a question of regulation of work or a question of wages, it is big industry which has taken the initiative of attack and which,

by a strange reversal of logic, is directing the war of the classes. After having trembled before the upheaval of 1918 to 1920 it considers itself strong enough not only to resist the claims of the proletariat, but to strike at the positions attained by the workers.

In 1920, the cost of food increased five or six-fold in France but the wages of agricultural workers were on the average only tripled; that of the construction workers were increased by 275 %, that of the textile workers by 350 %, that of clothing workers by 200 %, that of the miners by 240 %. The reduction which took place everywhere has therefore aggravated the lot of the workers, for there was no corresponding fall in the cost of living. On the contrary, this has become a heavier burden. The commission appointed on the morrow of the big textile strike in the North to inquire into prices, has revealed an increase of 25 % in the last four months.

There is a menace hanging over the working-class of the big cities. Beginning with next January, rents will be raised considerably everywhere.

The present Chamber, of which a big majority are landlords (130 millionaires), or landlords' lawyers, is showing a great deal of tolerance towards the land owners in this connection. The transportation-rate within cities and those between the cities and their suburbs—these rates which play such an important role, in the daily budget of a worker's family—will be raised again to three times the pre-war amount. This new increase will surely result in a general rise in the cost of living.

How will the proletariat react?

It is interesting to take up the statistics on strikes and especially the strikes over wages. Taking the total amount of unemployment as a basis, strikes represented 62 % of the unemployment in 1913, 77 % in 1915, 84 % in 1916, 90 % in 1917, 83 % in 1918, 84 % in 1919, 78 % in 1920, 69 % in the two first quarters of 1921. That is to say that in proportion the proletariat has been less active in the defense of its material position, doubtlessly because it is meeting with a more resolute opponent.

In the period beginning with 1915 and ending with the first week of 1920, the number of strikers demanding an increase in wages continually grew—8,000 in 1915, 73,000 in 1916, 131,000 in 1918, 1,053,000 in 1919, 628,000 for the first half of 1920. But then it falls to 57,000 for the second half of 1920 and during the elapsed period of 1921, it is only 9,000.

On the other hand, the number of workers who struck against reductions was infinitesimal up to 1921. But in the first eight months of this year it reached a total of 116,000. Nothing can sum up the situation better.

But it is not enough simply to declare strikes; it is necessary to succeed, and the recent strikes have not all been a success—far from that. It has thus become evident that the scattered sort of fight has no longer any value against a strongly organized employer-class. The fight is becoming intensified; new methods are necessary. It is up to Communism to provide them by casting aside antiquated methods in the trade-unions.

Unemployment in Italy

by Pippo.

The Italian Minister of Labor has notified the newspapers through the press agencies that the number of unemployed has reached half a million. Since this notice was not accompanied by the necessary statistics we must, on our own account, make a study of unemployment in Italy, taking for our basis the latest statistical figures as of August 31st.

Towards the end of August the number of unemployed reached 435,194, i. e., 335,926 men and 92,268. Unemployment is greatest in Lombardy (97,450) and least in Calabria (223). Unemployment is also very great in Venice (89,026), Piedmont (65,154). In Emilia (51,899), in Tuscany (37,459), in Liguria (24,767), in Apulia (19,706), in Sicily (15,498). In other provinces the number of unemployed is below 6,000, 5,965 in Latium, 4,960 in the Marches, 2,552 in Umbria. In the rest of the provinces the number of unemployed falls below one thousand: 677 in Basilicata, 513 in Sardinia, 484 in the Abruzzi, 223 in Calabria.

The building trades leads the list of the unemployed with 107,749; then comes the metal industry with 66,499; another category seriously affected is the textile industry with 70,923 out of work; the chemical and agricultural group show also a high number of unemployed. Thus the forced idleness in the trades just mentioned grows from day to day. We can assert as certain,

though we have no necessary statistical proof, that unemployment is prevalent among agricultural workers. The case of Emilia with its 25,806 workless supports our assertion.

Outside of the men out of work there are in Italy about 50,000 part time workers, the so-called "Half-unemployed", since they work only four, three or even two days a week. We wish to repeat that the data here given are drawn from the figures for August 31st. Conditions have become much worse in the last three months as the statement of the Minister of Labor proves. Conditions have become worse for the Italian proletariat not only through unemployment, but also through two other factors which are not perhaps yet known to the foreign comrades.

1. While wages were being reduced prices were rising daily. We cite here the rapid increase in the prices of the most essential food articles for the month of October alone: potatoes (2.75 %), dried beans (16.03 %), fresh vegetables (6.75 %), dried fruit (2.10 %), linseed oil (2.50 %), butter (4.17 %), cheese (1.61 %), fresh milk (30.30 %), eggs (20 %), smoked and fresh pork (2.32 %), ordinary table wine (5.4 %). The prices of other foodstuffs, which are commonly used in the household of the average workman, remained unchanged because they are determined by definite price-regulations.

2. As a result of the long drought and the low water level of all rivers, the Society for the Supply of Electric Power announced through the newspapers its incapacity to supply henceforth all factories and workshops with the normal amount of electricity. In the negotiations over this attack by "Mother Nature" the workers' organizations had to yield, so that the workers are now employed only four days a week. It seems as if Mother Nature herself were unfriendly to the proletariat.

We turn to the government and trade union attempts to relieve the existing unemployment. The government has instructed the "Deposit and Loan Treasury" to open for the provinces and townships a credit of 1,300,000,000 lire of which 500,000,000 were already paid out last August, the remaining 800,000,000 to be paid at a later date.

The provinces and township despite their intention to do much, *did nothing*, through lack of financial means, and therefore continually deliberate over the commencement of their activities which they will never begin.

On the part of the trade-unions help is possible only to members of the metal and printing trades—the only organizations in Italy that have agreed upon a common unemployment fund.

But what is the spirit of the unemployed in their present state of misery? Truth to tell the unemployed have not undertaken any organized concerted action to date. Of course the fault does not lie with those who are in forced idleness, but rather with the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor that left them to their own resources.

There were in Italy men who proposed to organize separate Unemployment Groups of the type exist in Germany. The Communists protest against the proposition which according to them is nothing less than folly, since it would lead to a separation of the unemployed from their own working brethren. Instead of this they propose that all unemployed be admitted as members into the unions. The method was tried in the "Chambers of Labor" and in the unions led by Communists; it showed good results, proving that in this manner the unemployed are always an *active* force in the unions. The Communists know that the problem of unemployment can never be solved in the present capitalist regime. And knowing that, the Communists can draw only *one* conclusion, namely, to form out of the unemployed a well-prepared and disciplined Red Army which might serve in a favorable moment as the first shock troops in the attack upon the fortresses of capitalism in order to deliver themselves and all humanity from starvation and slavery.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Congress of the Dutch Communist Party

by Gérard Vanter (Amsterdam).

A few weeks ago on the 12 - 15th of November the Congress of the Dutch Section of the Communist International took place at Groningen. This was the 12th annual congress of the party. The Dutch Communist Party is one of the oldest parties of the

new International. The Congress was a call to action; it organized the action for revolutionizing the masses in complete harmony with the decisions of the Third World Congress of Moscow; it demonstrated the unity of the Communist movement and showed a deep insight into the demands of the present situation.

The congress was opened by the chairman, comrade *Wynkoop*, who reviewed the world situation. He characterized the Labor Conference as a farce and pointed out that the Washington Conference was absolutely powerless in preventing future wars, because of the growing clash of interests between the great powers, the struggle for oil-wells, the exploitation of China and the problems of the Pacific Ocean. The only effective war-preventative would be the international revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat. Just as the Dutch Party was the revolutionary vanguard in the historical sense (it was originally formed by the Marxian opposition which was driven out of the reformist party), so must it now do its duty towards Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia, which means we ourselves, will be the greatest factor for peace.

Comrades *Darsons* addressed the Congress in the name of the Indian Communist Party. He was arrested by the police, on the pretext that he was a "foreigner", although being a Javanese, he is a citizen of the Netherlands. The police were compelled to release him. The insolence on the part of the police, against which the Congress vehemently protested however, perfectly illustrated his description of how the Dutch exploiters of the East Indies are seeking to cultivate race-hatred in order to maintain their rule. Communist propaganda in extremely difficult in the East Indies but in spite of persecutions and provocations it is *not without success*. Nineteen trade-unions have already joined the Indian Trade Union Confederation, all of which have Communists at their head.

The Congress decided to issue a proclamation to the 55 million inhabitants of the East Indies.

The report of the delegates to the Third World Congress gave rise to a detailed and comradely discussion. Comrade *Ceton* gave a résumé of the work done by the Third Congress, as established by the theses and resolutions which the Dutch Party is now publishing in the Dutch language. Comrade *Roland-Holst* spoke on the new economic policy of Soviet Russia, which she explained and defended.

The Congress unanimously accepted the theses of the Third Congress.

The resolutions of Moscow also demand of the Dutch Party that it no longer confine itself to propaganda and action, (at any rate of the more respectable kind). The work of the party must be systematized; we must reach the masses.

Comrade *van Ravensteyn* spoke on the trade-union question.

The economic depression in Holland is now making itself felt in the decrease of the trade-union membership. The syndicalist trade-unions (N. A. S.), lost 25% of their membership and dropped to 36,000 members; the reformist N. V. V. (The Trade Union Confederation of the Netherlands) lost one-sixth of its membership and now has 217,000 members; whereas the "Christian" trade-unions rose to a membership of 82,000, the "neutrals" (liberals) rose to 72,000 and the Catholic trade-unions went as high as 164,000.

The split in the trade-unions prevents unity of action, and the Communists in Holland therefore have a difficult task in propagating and organizing a united proletarian front against the competition of the various trade-union movements. The resolution of the Central Committee of the party, dealing with the trade-union question, was passed. This resolution is very important because it obligates the comrades, most of whom were active in the small syndicalist trade-union organizations of the N. A. S., to extend their activities in a Communist sense to the various trade-unions, and to effect the amalgamation of the N. A. S. and the N. V. V., as well as their joining the *Red Trade Union International*. By doing this our comrades will have to render the struggle more far-reaching instead of confining themselves to the mere defense of a small trade-union organization, which has rather few members in the important branches of industry.

On the question of the party press, the Congress has also displayed not only its willingness to be faithful to the decisions of the Third International, but also to the *lessons of Moscow*.

An attempt will be made to follow the Russian example, by letting the worker express himself on the question of his struggle; it is hoped that the newspapers will thus gain in popularity.

Everything will be done to overcome the financial crisis which the Party daily "De Tribune" faces. One-half of the

amount which had to be on hand before the 1st of December in order that the party organ be kept going, was guaranteed by the Congress. The amount necessary was 10,000 gulden or 1,000,000 marks; the Congress guaranteed 5,000 Gulden. As often before, the willingness to make sacrifices for the party organ, which is the oldest and most important means of propaganda, showed itself distinctly.

Heavy burdens have been assumed by our party members. We are proud of the world-known fact that the we contributed 100,000 gulden or 10,000,000 marks for the famine-stricken in Soviet Russia. Our small party, consisting of only a little more than 2,000 members and comprising 65 districts (only 53 were represented at the Congress), will soon publish its own scientific periodical, in place of the "Nieuwe Tijd", which is now discontinued, but which was formerly an independent publication. Again the agricultural paper, the weekly "De Plattenlands-Tribune", the "Soldatentribüne" which is used for propaganda purposes in the army and navy, as well the red trade-union monthly, the Women and Youth publications and six other papers besides the daily, will continue to appear.

The Congress decided to create a party council, to be composed of the leaders of the various party organs—the Women's Committee, Soldiers' Propaganda, Trade-Union Commission, Youth movement, the Press Service, the Parliamentary group and the Indian Committee. This party council is to bring the Central Committee of the party into closer contact with the party members.

Then followed the acceptance of new political, social and communal programs which are adapted to present conditions. A new agrarian program, which treats of every detail in a very comprehensive manner, was also accepted. This agrarian program promises to be of great propaganda value in action in the agricultural field which will in the future assume more and more importance, and may perhaps serve as example to parties in other lands.

It was a successful Congress; the discussion was of a high standard; the Dutch Party promised to do its duty and to work among the masses, in the factories, in the trade-unions and among the women who called an extraordinary conference. In short, the party will extend its activities everywhere. This is warranted by the present situation, since the economic crisis has already set in Holland, and the exploiters have begun their offensive, which will drive the workers to organize a solid front, which must in the struggle become revolutionary.

THE RED TRADE-UNION INTERNATIONAL

The Norwegian Trade Unions and the International.

In the middle of November a delegation of the Norwegian Labor Party conferred with the leaders of the Third International and the Red Trade Union International at which the relation of the Norwegian Trade Union movement to the Red Trade Union International was discussed. As a result of this conference the following appeal was issued at the session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in the presence of the Norwegian delegation.

To all Labor Party and national trade union organizations of Norway!

Dear Comrades!

Comrades of Norway accept our greetings from the capital of the Russian proletariat.

Through the election victory of your party you have given proof of the firmness of your front in the proletarian class-struggle. You have demonstrated that the unity of your ranks could be broken neither by last Spring's general campaign of the avaricious capitalist class which sought to cut your wages, nor in the recent election by the united attack of the bourgeois parties and the right socialist defenders of the capitalist State.

Comrades, you must now maintain the unity in your fighting front.

The rapacity which is at present raging in the whole capitalist world demands it; the profiteering and frauds, the shameless wage-reductions and the blind opposition of the exploiters against every just demand of the workers require it.

At a time when the ruling class is organizing armed class-troops against its working supporters in order to secure its unbounded exploiting privileges through bloody slaughters, in these days of embittered class-struggle, it is vital for the working-class to effect close unity in their ranks and to maintain it.

In these fateful times however, conscienceless right socialist elements are seeking to effect a split and discord in the Norwegian labor movement. They have founded a new party and seek to lure members out of the Norwegian Labor Party. No doubt the right elements in the trade-union movement also wish to continue their tactics of division and discord, and to aid the capitalist class in its oppression campaign by weakening the labor movement.

Class-conscious organized workers of Norway, you must prevent this! You must draw together your fighting forces closer than ever. Not as the right socialists want you to do it, not by co-operating with the capitalist management and capitalist organizations; nor according to the methods of the Second International and the Amsterdam leadership of the trade-unions. Through these methods the unity of the proletarian front cannot be maintained. Negotiations with the class enemies of the proletariat for co-operation will only lead to the breaking-up of the proletarian organizations.

Comrades, you know that the great majority of the organized workers of Norway have definitely announced their willingness to go hand in hand with us, and to fight in the political and trade-union organization of the revolutionary proletariat of the world. The Norwegian Labor Party long ago parted company with the petty-bourgeois and state-supporting Second International. The national trade-union organization of Norway has in many ways paved the way for closer relations with the Red Trade Union International. Last year the national trade-union congress accepted the principles of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet system, and sent delegates to our Second World Congress. At the first World Congress of the Red Trade Union International which took place last summer, the delegates sent to Moscow by your trade-unions participated in all the conferences and decisions in the most commendable spirit of solidarity. We are very happy to have just learned from your representatives that at a recent conference of your trade-union federations, it was unanimously urged that the Red Trade Union International be affiliated with, and to hear that the headquarters of your national organization has decided to present this question before all the members-organizations for discussion.

Comrades, we are deeply convinced that this is the only safe road for your victorious class-struggle. Only in the closely organized ranks of the united fighting world-proletariat will your own ranks be strong. Come into still-closer contact with the trade-union organizations of the Russian proletariat. Join hands with all sections of the Red Trade Union International. In the meanwhile do not break off the old relations with Sweden, Denmark or other countries. Since your national organization has left the Amsterdam International you will naturally continue and develop these relations constantly. Do not give the leaders of the Right the slightest opportunity to disturb these relations or even to break them temporarily. There can be no doubt but that the majority of members in the Swedish and Danish brother organizations wish to keep up connections with your organization. If in spite of this fact, certain right socialist functionaries in a foreign organization should venture to attempt to break down these relations, you should appeal to the spirit of solidarity of the foreign federation members. We are convinced that even if the Amsterdamers should succeed in temporarily interrupting these relations, the solidarity of the members will overcome this disturbance.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International received the report of your party through your delegates with great satisfaction and it is convinced that your trade-unions are fully aware of the stand your party took on the important question of the day—the question of Moscow or Amsterdam.

Make this question clear in all your trade-union organizations! Make it clear to all your comrades who have not yet gotten the full significance of it. Clear up this question through the unequivocal decisions of your organizations.

Through unity with the fighting proletariat of the Red International you gain strength for future fights and victories.

With comradely greetings

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
G. Sinoviev. Heinrich Brandler.

The Executive Office of the Red Trade-Union International.
A. Losovsky.

On the same day, shortly before the session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the delegation of the Norwegian Labor Party held its session at which all delegates were present: Olav Schefflo, Halvard Olsen, Martin Traumaël and Ole Lian, and Trygve Lie, (Secretary). Comrade Olav Schefflo was chosen chairman. The minutes of this session read:

"The proposal for an appeal drawn up by a commission of the permanent Sub-Committee of the Executive, was read. The appeal was issued to the Norwegian labor organizations, and contains a request to leave the Amsterdam International and to enter the Red Trade Union International. The delegation is in complete accord with this appeal and the chairman is requested to sign the appeal together with the Executive Committees of the Third International and of the Red Trade Union International. It is taken for granted that this question will be dealt with by the Norwegian organizations as soon as possible."

Moscow, Nov. 21, 1921.

Signed:

Olav Schefflo, Halvard Olsen, Ole Lian,
Martin Traumaël, Trygve Lie.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

American Workers' Relief for Russia

E. S. Very little is known outside of the United States of the achievements of the American working-class in relief for Russia. The official American Relief Administration (A. R. A.), under the direction of Hoover, stands in the limelight and monopolizes all publicity. However, the American workers have organized and are putting into operation their own class relief organization, which is aiding the starving Russian workers and peasants without exacting humiliating and tyrannic conditions.

In October, the "Friends of Soviet Russia" was founded at a national conference of working-class organizations, for the purpose of organizing proletarian relief for the first proletarian republic. In every important city of United States there are local branches with which are affiliated all the unions and other workers' organizations of locality. The national office of the "Friends of Soviet Russia" has drawn up detailed instructions for the effective raising of funds and has organized the work on a national scale.

Among the means employed are mass-meetings, assessments on the membership of affiliated organizations, contribution lists, pledge cards and the sale of special relief buttons. The holding of entertainments, tag-days and bazaars have also proved very effective. The organization has five noted speakers touring the country for agitation among the masses. The American labor movement is demonstrating an enviable energy in the movement for Russian relief.

Besides the "Friends of Soviet Russia", the various large trade-unions and federations are also assessing their members for Russian relief. All the funds collected in the United States by the working-class organizations are pooled in the hands of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, established under instructions from the Russian Red Cross, which makes purchases at wholesale and ships all supplies directly to Russia for distribution through the Russian Red Cross. This pooling committee collects no funds and merely acts and purchasing and shipping agent for all the relief committees. Its money is in the hand of the Labor Bank of the International Association of Machinists at Washington.

The total of the "Friends of Soviet Russia" relief fund is now well over \$250,000.00. The whole country is at work, devising different methods of work. In many cities tag-days have been or are being arranged. Special Thanksgiving Day drives are being promoted. Christmas week will be the occasion of a special appeal.

Work in Canada is speeding up. There is a branch of the "Friends of Soviet Russia" in Toronto which already has collected \$9,500.00 and is well on the up grade to go above \$10,000.00. With the Canadian branch of Toronto affiliated the Toronto Trades and Labour Council. There are locals of the Cloak Makers' and the Amalgated Clothing Workers' Union connected with the Toronto Branch. There is another branch in Vancouver taking care of the Canadian Pacific coast. A farmer in that region has just offered to contribute a carload of cattle.

The Polish Co-operative Bakery of Detroit is shipping 30 barrels of dried bread every week to Soviet Russia. Farmers and grocers in San Francisco and vicinity have donated 3300 lbs. of prunes and 1300 lbs. of rice, honey and soap.

The small city of Paterson, New Jersey, has collected nearly \$ 4,000.00 for relief and has also sent in 13 large bales of clothing. Springfield, Massachusetts, has collected \$ 4,000.00. Los Angeles has followed with a similar amount.

The National Croatian Society, Pittsburgh, at its convention in September donated \$ 11,000.00, which is the largest single contribution to date. The Finnish Socialist Federation, with its numerous branches, is one of the leaders in relief. Jewish workers, Lithuanian and Hungarian organizations, Russian groups and societies are sharing their earnings with their starving comrades in Soviet Russia. Spanish workers in Cuba have sent in a large check.

The United Mine Workers at their convention in Indianapolis voted a day's pay for Soviet Russia. In the meantime, many locals and sub-districts have already sent in their quota. The miners of the United States are manifesting a splendid spirit of solidarity.

The relief action of the American working-class is just beginning. It has been planned on a large scale and is to continue until the first Workers' Soviet Republic is safe. It also is serving as a splendid opportunity for awakening the workers of America from the lethargy which has bound them since the October Revolution.

The White Terror

Anti-Communist Laws in Poland

by L. Georges (Warsaw).

In its blind rage against all labor movements, in its fear of the Communist peril, the Polish bourgeoisie following the example of Yugoslavia, wants to quell the growing dissatisfaction of the workers by means of prison and capital punishment. Anti-Communist laws, courts-martial, death-sentences are the ordinary means employed by the Sejm (Parliament) from the very first day of its rule, against every social ill. The suppression of every revolutionary labor movement and of every expression of sympathy for Soviet Russia has continued without interruption since November 11, 1918. In December 1918, during the administration of the "Socialist" Moraczewski, anti-government labor-demonstrations were dispersed by artillery-fire, and the first labor victims fell in the streets of the capital. At that time the first extraordinary law was proclaimed by the "Socialist" government against the working-class. This government also bears the full guilt for the assassination of the Russian Red Cross delegation—a deed which will remain the eternal disgrace of the Polish Republic. From the very beginning, the Polish prisons were overcrowded with political prisoners and the Czarist code as well the antiquated Austrian legislation were applied in all their severity against the Communist workers. Hundreds of our comrades who were sentenced to long prison terms have been languishing since 1919 in the old Russian fortresses and prisons, and there has been no amnesty for them. Almost every day one can read in the newspapers of new arrests and trials. The social-patriotic press is continually announcing with glee that the workers have become rid of the "Communist mercenaries". Recently about eighty were arrested in Eastern Galicia, suspected of being the leaders of the Communist organizations there. At about the same time big Communist trials took place in Cracow and Lodz against persons accused of being members of the C. P. P. and of having prepared communist publications. Although the announced extraordinary laws have not yet been fully enforced yet every sentence passed is in defiance of every semblance of justice. On the basis of information given by one witness who gave damaging testimony under pressure brought to bear by the police, and who nevertheless denied acquaintance with the accused, sixteen workers were sentenced in Lodz on December 12 to prison terms ranging from four to eight years. In Cracow three workers were sentenced on December 2 to prison terms of one to two years, and two workers were condemned to eight and nine years of imprisonment. All this was as a punishment for simply distributing illegal Communist literature.

This, however, did not glut the bloodthirsty Polish bourgeoisie. The death-sentence for Communists is to be the means calculated to strangle the revolutionary Party. For weeks the bourgeois press has been carrying on a furious campaign of incitement with the object of passing an anti-Communist law.

"The Communist is a thousand times more dangerous and harmful than a robber and a thief, than a murderer and a highwayman, and as we condemned these to death so much the more must we not hesitate to employ these means against the Communists. The Communists must be considered as the worst criminals in the world, and as persons who want to destroy Christian civilization by means of murder and robbery, and to establish the supremacy of the state. There is no means severe enough with which to combat the ever-growing Communist propaganda." This appeared in the "Gazeta Poranna" of October 28th, organ of the National Democrats.

But the social patriots of the P. P. S. join in this campaign of incitement. The following appears in the manifesto of its Central Committee: "The Communists . . . are leading the working-class from one shame to another, from one defeat to another . . . Workers! The activity of the Communist Party is nothing but a crime against you . . . The Communist agitation is creeping like a thief into the soul of the worker. . ."

This concentrated attack is now bearing fruit, and when the Socialist leaders take a stand against the extraordinary laws they are only enacting a comedy, as it was they through their activity who prepared the ground for the extraordinary laws. The "liberal" ministers, with whom the P. P. S. had been always carrying on a flirtation, are the ones who are now presenting and defending the extraordinary laws. It is only two weeks ago that the liberal Minister of the Interior Downarowicz, introduced an anti-Communist bill in the Sejm, and already the "liberal" Minister of Justice Sobolewski is hastening to introduce a bill which calls for the death-sentence against the Communists. Notwithstanding courageous opposition by the Communist Deputy Lanzuzki who, in spite of all persecution made a speech in the Sejm, in which he proclaimed the tireless fight of the Polish working-class for a Soviet Republic, the two bills were passed at the first reading by an overwhelming majority and were sent to the Justice Committee. The radical representatives of the Peasants' Parties and the P. P. S. are only now beginning to realize that the proposed extraordinary laws can also become dangerous to them. The Minister of the Interior is indeed assuring them that force will be used only against the Communists but it would be dangerous to leave in the hands of the police the combatting of the "Revolution". As for the bill of the Minister of Justice, it will not encounter any opposition for it confines itself very definitely to the combatting of the Communist and states that very clearly:

"Whoever propagates ideas which are in favor of the setting up of the Soviet system will be punished with two to four years of imprisonment."

"Whoever participates in deeds of violence with the view of overthrowing the present order of society and setting up a system based on class-rule (!), will be punished with death."

There are further provisions according to which Communist propaganda and the taking part in demonstrations are punishable with life-imprisonment, so that the Czarist code is surpassed in harshness.

The extraordinary law proposed by the Minister of the Interior Downarowicz is so vague in its terms that the party in power can employ it against all sort of opposition. It gives the police the right to arrest every "suspected" citizen, to keep him for months in prison, to expel him from his home and to prevent him from exercising his rights of citizenship. The Russian extraordinary laws of 1905—1906 served as a model to the Minister of the Interior. In spite of all criticisms which are now growing louder, M. Downarowicz will also receive a safe majority in the Sejm for his bill. Difficult days and hard struggles are in store for us. But we know by experience that the stronger and the harsher the oppression, the sooner the working-class becomes enlightened. The persecution which is directed against the working-class must unite it so much the sooner, into a revolutionary vanguard. On one side of the barricade, the revolutionary working-class with the C. P. P. at its head, on the other side the bourgeoisie with its ideology drawn from the P. P. S.